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SPEECHES by

**Mm. Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov**

with a FOREWORD by

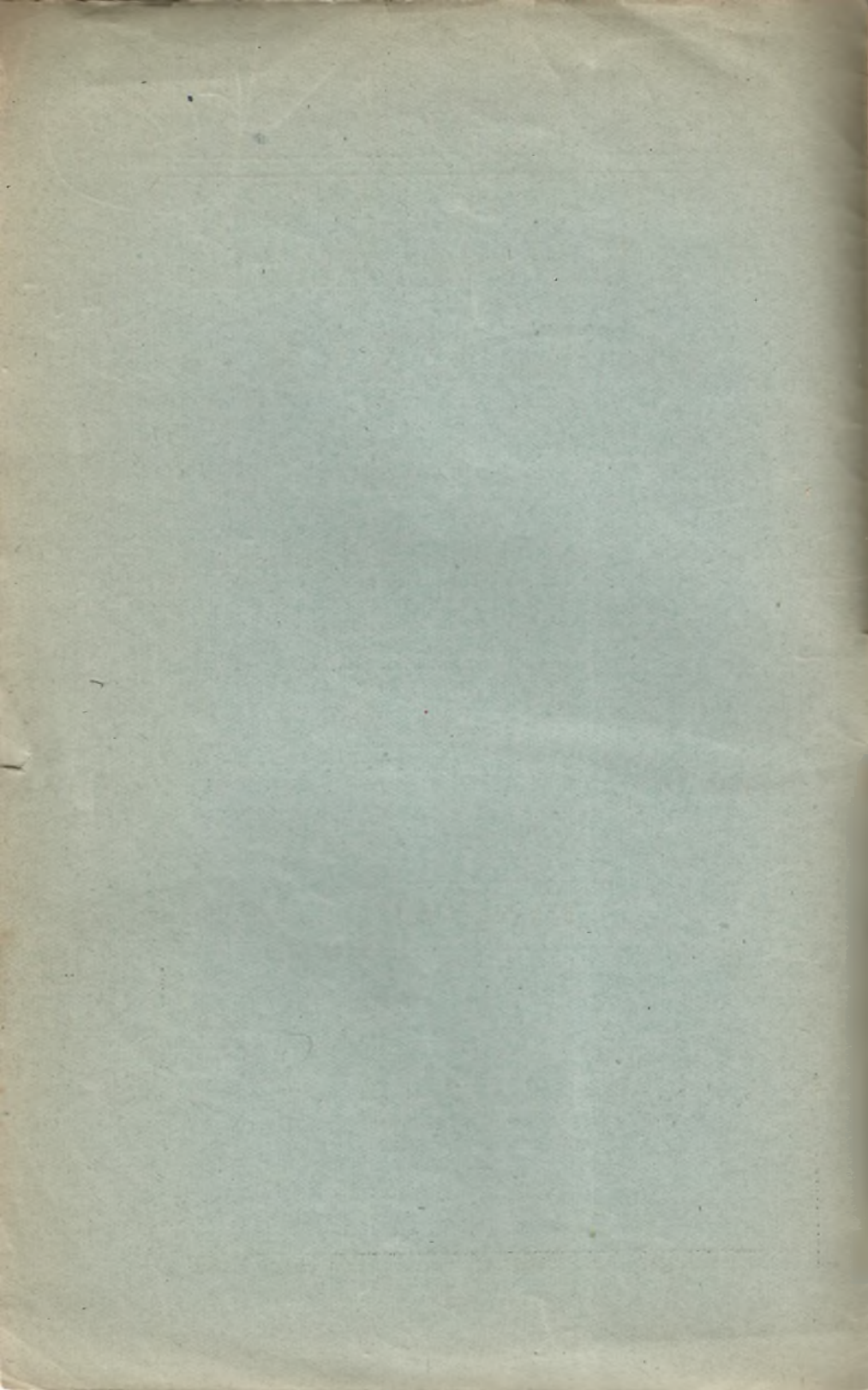
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(Chairman of the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee)

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## FOREWORD

Early in the morning of June 22, 1941, Hitler, with the cynical disregard of his pledged word so characteristic of him, began an attack on the U.S.S.R., with whom only 18 months before he had signed a Pact of Non-Aggression. The Nazi attack was made without any warning, without any previous complaint against the Soviet Government, without even presenting any ultimatum, however short and peremptory.

The Soviet Government, though taken by surprise, did not, of course, lose its head, and prepared immediately to give Hitler the only reply he ever understands, viz., not merely a blow for a blow, but two, three, eventually, perhaps, half a dozen Soviet blows for each Nazi blow.

Later in the day of June 22, M. Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, gave a short moving address on the subject over the Soviet radio.

On July 3, M. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of the newly-formed State Committee of Defence, made a very remarkable speech to the Soviet people, also over the radio. And on July 8, M. Litvinov, former People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made a highly interesting and pertinent broadcast in English over the Moscow radio.

These three speeches have been reported very fully in the British Press, but we have had numerous requests from readers of our Bulletins and others, for a reprint of the speeches. Our readers rightly observe that daily papers are soon thrown away, and these speeches are well worth reading and re-reading—hence the present pamphlet. The cross headings and the heavy type are, of course, ours.

NEIL MACLEAN.



## RADIO ADDRESS BY M. MOLOTOV.

June 22, 1941.

Citizens of the Soviet Union! The Soviet Government and its head, Comrade Stalin, have authorised me to make the following statement :—

To-day, at 4 o'clock a.m., without any claims having been presented to the Soviet Union, without a declaration of war, German troops attacked our country, attacked our borders at many points, and bombed from their airplanes our cities—Zhitomir, Kiev, Sebastopol, Kaunas, and some others, killing and wounding over 200 persons. There were also enemy air raids and artillery shelling from Roumanian and Finnish territory. This unheard-of attack upon our country is perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilised nations.

The attack on our country was perpetrated despite the fact that a Treaty of Non-Aggression had been signed between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, and that the Soviet Government most faithfully abided by all the provisions of this Treaty. The attack upon our country was perpetrated despite the fact that during the entire period of the operation of this Treaty, the German Government could not find grounds for a single complaint against the U.S.S.R. as regards observance of the Treaty. The entire responsibility for this predatory attack upon the Soviet Union falls fully and completely upon the German Fascist rulers.

### A Sheer Lie.

At 5-30 a.m., that is after the attack had already been perpetrated, Schulenburg, German Ambassador in Moscow, on behalf of his Government, made a statement to me as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs to the effect that the German Government had decided to launch war against the U.S.S.R. in connection with the concentration of Red Army units near the Eastern German frontier. In reply to this, I stated on behalf of the Soviet Government that until the very last moment the German Government had not presented any claims to the Soviet Government, that Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. despite the peaceable position of the Soviet Union, and that for this reason Fascist Germany is the aggressor.

On the instruction of the Government of the Soviet Union, I must also state that at no point had our troops or our Air Force committed a violation of the frontier, and, therefore, the statement made this morning by the Rumanian radio to the effect that Soviet aircraft allegedly had fired on Roumanian aerodromes is a sheer lie

and provocation. Likewise a lie and provocation is the whole declaration made to-day by Hitler who is trying belatedly to concoct accusations, charging the Soviet Union with failure to observe the Soviet-German Pact.

Now that the attack on the Soviet Union has already been committed the Soviet Government has ordered our troops—to repulse the predatory assault and to drive the German troops from the territory of our country. This war has been forced upon us not by the German people, not by the German workers, peasants, and intellectuals whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of bloodthirsty Fascist rulers of Germany, who have enslaved Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, as well as Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece, and other nations.

### **Unshakable Confidence.**

The Government of the Soviet Union expresses its unshakeable confidence that our valiant Army and Navy and brave falcons of the Soviet Air Force will acquit themselves with honour in performing their duty to the Fatherland, to the Soviet people, and will inflict a crushing blow upon the aggressor. This is not the first time that our people has had to deal with an attack of a presumptuous foe. At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, our people's reply was war for the Fatherland, and Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom. It will be the same with Hitler who in his arrogance has proclaimed a new crusade against our country. **The Red Army and our whole people will again wage a victorious war for our Fatherland, for our country, for honour, for liberty.**

The Government of the Soviet Union expresses the firm conviction that the whole population of our country, all workers, peasants, and intellectuals, men and women, will conscientiously perform their duties and do their work. Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before. Each one of us must demand of himself and of others the discipline, organisation, and self-denial worthy of real Soviet patriots, in order to provide for all the needs of the Red Army, Navy, and Air Force, to ensure victory over the enemy.

The Government calls on you, citizens of the Soviet Union, to rally still more closely around our glorious Bolshevik Party, around our Soviet Government, around our great leader, Comrade Stalin! Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours.



## RADIO ADDRESS BY M. STALIN.

July 3, 1941.

Comrades ! Citizens ! Brothers and sisters ! Men of our Army and Navy ! I am addressing you, my friends ! The perfidious military attack on our fatherland begun on June 22 by Hitler Germany is continuing. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Red Army, and although the enemy's finest divisions and finest air force units have already been smashed and have met their doom on the field of battle, the enemy continues to push forward, hurling fresh forces into the attack.

Hitler's troops have succeeded in capturing Lithuania, a considerable part of Latvia, the western part of Belorussia, part of the Western Ukraine. The fascist air force is extending the range of operations of its bombers, and is bombing Murmansk, Orsha, Mogilev, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and Sebastopol. Grave danger hangs over our country.

### No Invincible Armies.

How could it have happened that our glorious Red Army surrendered a number of our cities and districts to the fascist armies ? Is it really true that the German fascist troops are invincible as is ceaselessly trumpeted by the boastful fascist propagandists ? Of course not ! History shows that there are no invincible armies, and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible, but it was beaten successively by the Russian, English and German armies. Kaiser Wilhelm's German army in the period of the first imperialist war was also considered invincible, but it was beaten several times by the Russian and Anglo-French forces, and was finally smashed by the Anglo-French forces. The same must be said of Hitler's German fascist army to-day. **This army had not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met with serious resistance.** And if as a result of this resistance, the finest divisions of Hitler's German fascist army have been defeated by our Red Army, it means that this army too can be smashed and will be smashed as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm.

As to part of our territory having nevertheless been seized by the German fascist troops, this is chiefly due to the fact that the war of fascist Germany on the U.S.S.R. began under conditions favourable for the German forces and unfavourable for the Soviet forces.

It is a matter of fact that the troops of Germany, as a country at war, were already fully mobilised, and the 170 divisions hurled by Germany against the U.S.S.R. and brought up to the Soviet frontiers were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas the Soviet troops had still to effect mobilisation and move up to the frontiers.

## **A Treacherous Violation.**

Of no little importance in this respect is the fact that fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the Non-Aggression Pact she concluded in 1939 with the U.S.S.R., disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as the aggressor by the whole world.

Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the Pact, could not resort to perfidy.

It may be asked how could the Soviet Government have consented to conclude a Non-Aggression Pact with such treacherous fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was this not an error on the part of the Soviet Government? Of course not! Non-Aggression Pacts are pacts of peace between two States. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighbouring state even though the latter was headed by such ruffians and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. But that of course only on one indispensable condition, namely, that this peace treaty does not infringe either directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity, independence and honour of the peace-loving state. As is well known, the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the U.S.S.R. was precisely such a Pact. **What did we gain by concluding the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany? We secured our country peace for a year and a-half, and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country, despite the Pact.**

This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany. What has fascist Germany gained and what has she lost by treacherously tearing up the Pact and attacking the U.S.S.R.?

She has gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a bloodthirsty aggressor. There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the U.S.S.R. is a serious and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for the development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with fascist Germany.

## **Death Grips with Perfidious Enemy.**

That is why our whole valiant Red Army, our whole valiant Navy, all our falcons of the air, all the peoples of our country, all the finest men and women of Europe and America and Asia, finally all the finest men and women of Germany—condemn the treacherous acts of the German fascists and sympathise with the Soviet Government, approve the conduct of the Soviet Government and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, that we are bound to win.



By virtue of this war which has been forced upon us, our country has come to death grips with its most malicious and most perfidious enemy—German fascism. Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft.

Overcoming innumerable difficulties, the Red Army and Red Navy are self-sacrificingly disputing every inch of Soviet soil. The main forces of the Red Army are coming into action armed with thousands of tanks and airplanes. Men of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valour. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power. Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people are rising in defence of our native land.

What is required to put an end to the danger hovering over our country, and what measures must be taken to smash the enemy? Above all it is essential that our people, **Soviet people, should understand the full immensity of the danger that threatens our country, and abandon all complacency, all heedlessness, all those moods of peaceful constructive work which were so natural before the war, but which are fatal to-day when war has fundamentally changed everything.**

The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands watered with our sweat, to seize our grain and oil secured by our labour. He is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore Tsarism, to destroy national culture and the national State existence of Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tartars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanise them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons.

Thus the issue is one of life or death for the Soviet State, for the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall remain free or fall into slavery.

### **German Fascism Cannot be Tamed.**

The Soviet people must realise this and abandon all heedlessness, they must mobilise themselves and reorganise all their work on new, war-time lines, when there can be no mercy to the enemy. Further there must be no room in our ranks for whimperers and cowards, for panicmongers and deserters, our peoples must know no fear in fight, and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation, our war against the Fascist enslavers.

Lenin, the great founder of our State, used to say that the chief virtue of the Soviet people must be courage, valour, fearlessness in struggle, a readiness to fight together with the people against the enemies of our country. This splendid virtue of the Bolshevik must become the virtue of millions and millions of Red Army men, of Red Navy men, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

**All our work must be immediately reconstructed on a war footing, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the front and the task of organising the demolition of the enemy.**

The peoples of the Soviet Union now see that there is no taming of German Fascism in its savage fury and hatred of our country which has ensured all working people labour in freedom and prosperity. The peoples of the Soviet Union must rise against the enemy, and defend their rights and their land. The Red Army, the Red Navy, and all citizens of the Soviet Union must defend every inch of Soviet soil, must fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages, must display the daring initiative and intelligence that are inherent in our people.

We must organise all-round assistance to the Red Army, ensure powerful reinforcements for its ranks and the supply of everything it requires, we must organise the rapid transport of troops and military freight, and extensive aid to the wounded.

We must strengthen the Red Army's rear, subordinating all our work to this cause, all our industries must be got to work with a greater intensity, to produce more rifles, machine-guns, artillery, bullets, shells, airplanes, we must organise the guarding of factories, power stations, telephone and telegraphic communications, and arrange effective A.R.P. in all localities.

We must wage a ruthless fight against all disorganisers of the rear, deserters, panic-mongers, rumour-mongers, exterminate spies, diversionists, enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our extermination battalions. **We must bear in mind that the enemy is crafty, unscrupulous, experienced in deception and the dissemination of false rumours.** We must reckon with all this and not fall victim to provocation.

### **Conditions to be Made Unbearable for Enemy.**

All who by their panic-mongering and cowardice hinder the work of defence, no matter who they are, must be immediately haled before a Military Tribunal. In the case of forced retreat by the Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated, the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or gallon of fuel. Collective farmers must drive off all their cattle and turn over their grain to the safekeeping of the State authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel which cannot be withdrawn must be destroyed without fail.

In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units, mounted and foot, must be formed, diversionist groups must be organised to combat the enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere, to blow up bridges and roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines,



set fire to forests, stores and transports. In the occupied regions, conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures frustrated.

This war with Fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German Fascist forces.

The aim of this national war in defence of our country against the Fascist oppressors is not only the elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also to aid all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German Fascism.

### Mr. Churchill's Historic Speech.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war, we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots. Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's Fascist armies.

In this connection the historic utterance of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the Government of the U.S.A. signifying readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost. Side by side with the Red Army many thousands of workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals are rising to fight the enemy aggressor. Masses of our people will rise up in their millions. The working people of Moscow and Leningrad have already commenced to form vast popular levies in support of the Red Army. Such popular levies must be raised in every city which is in danger of enemy invasion, all working people must be roused to defend our freedom, our honour, our country—in our patriotic war against German Fascism.

In order to ensure the rapid mobilisation of all the forces of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to repulse the enemy who has treacherously attacked our country, the State Committee of Defence has been formed, in whose hands the entire power of the State has been vested. The State Committee of Defence has entered into its functions, and calls upon all our people to rally

around the Party of Lenin-Stalin and around the Soviet Government, so as self-denyingly to support the Red Army and Navy, to demolish the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy! All forces of the people—for the demolition of the enemy! Forward, to our victory!

## **RADIO SPEECH BY M. LITVINOV.**

**July 8, 1941.**

Hitlerite Germany's treacherous attack on the peaceful Soviet Union in face of the Non-Aggression Pact between the two countries, confirmed by Hitler's "own" repeated solemn declarations, has furnished the world with fresh and striking evidence that no country, whatever its policy, can feel secure so long as Nazism and Hitlerism exist. No agreements or treaties, no undertaking signed by Hitler and his henchmen, no promises or assurances on their part, no declarations of neutrality, no relations with them whatsoever can provide a guarantee against a sudden unprovoked attack.

### **Europe on Fire.**

More, no peace that could be made would be a protection against renewed attack at any moment. Nay, do we not know from the actual writings and declarations of Hitler himself and his merry men that they consider themselves above all conceptions of peaceful co-existence of nations, international obligations, morals, honour, humanity—in a word all that which distinguishes civilised society from the jungle?

War, hatred, destruction and extermination are the breath of Hitler's nostrils. In his autobiography he admits how he wilted and despaired during the time of international peace, and admits that without war he can see no point in living. Fields soaked in human blood, towns reduced to smoking heaps of ashes, hunger, poverty, tears of mothers, wives, sisters—all these compose the element in which Hitler feels happy and comfortable.

The Soviet Government was almost the first to realise the danger of Nazi aggressiveness, appealing to all nations to curb it and to organise resistance to it. This is not the moment to go into the question of why repeated appeals of the Soviet Government did not yield the desired results. When a house is on fire, the first necessity is to extinguish the flames. Why the fire was not prevented and whose fault this was can be looked into afterwards.



Europe is on fire, and parts of other continents too. Over a dozen States have lost their independence, their lands are laid waste as if hosts of locusts had passed over them, their population reduced to slavery. Who can doubt that the same fate awaits in the near future those few countries which are still dragging out a wretched quasi-independent existence under the illusory cover of neutrality and pacts of non-aggression, and "friendship," with Hitler.

It has fallen to the lot of Great Britain and her Dominions with the active support of the United States of America to bear the brunt of the arduous struggle against Hitler with his vast war-machine, the result of six years of elaborate preparations. And now this struggle has fallen with especial force to the lot of the Soviet Union. To wage this struggle against the common foe to the bitter end is the single all-embracing task confronting these countries.

### Hitler Not Yet a Channel Swimmer.

In his diabolical plans for attacking other countries in order to fulfil his dream of world domination, Hitler has always been ruled by the principle "divide and attack!" He uses the most insidious means to prevent his intended victims from organising common resistance, taking special pains to avoid war on two fronts against the most powerful European States. His strategy is to mark down his victims and strike at them one by one, in the order prompted by circumstances.

He intended first to deal with the Western States so as to be free afterwards to fall upon the Soviet Union. This did not quite come off. There was a hitch somewhere. Hitler has not the training for a Channel swimmer yet. And so another plan matured in his brain. Believing that he had secured himself a *de facto* truce in the West, he decided to have a "blitzkrieg," lightning war, in the East in order immediately afterwards to fall with added strength upon Great Britain and finish her off.

He hoped at the same time to prevent simultaneous action against himself in the West and East by driving between them an "ideological" wedge. But it is already clear that this time Hitler was out in his reckonings both as to the lightning quality of his blow in the East and as to the miraculous power of his "ideological" propaganda.

Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, with that statesmanlike acumen which is characteristic of him, immediately informed the world that he was not taken in by Hitler's wiles, declaring that victory over the Soviet Union by Hitler would be fraught with innumerable disasters and catastrophes for the British Empire. We no less recognise the menace which Hitler's victory in the West would constitute for us.

## **No Respite for Hitler.**

Our Red Army is performing veritable miracles of heroism and resolution, is bearing the shock of the whole of Hitler's powerful war-machine, and compelling him to transfer more and more forces from the West to the East. Thanks to this the English people are enjoying a certain respite after twelve months' incessant bombardment. **It is all important that Hitler should not have moments of respite, that he should be disappointed in his hope of a de facto truce in the West.**

While it is his aim to strike at one adversary at a time, ours should be to strike together simultaneously, without respite, untiringly. **Each blow struck now is ten times as effective, and entails infinitely less expenditure and sacrifice than if it is delivered when any one of his adversaries become weaker.**

Both the Soviet Union and Great Britain are fighting for the integrity and independence of their States against enslavement, nay, the very extermination of their peoples. And at the same time their common victory will bring in its train the emancipation of peoples at present groaning under the merciless, grinding heel of Hitler, and will open new vistas for the organisation of a happier life in conformity with the desires and aspirations of each of the liberated nations.

**The destruction of Hitlerism will mean the elimination of the most shameful phenomenon of our age, the elimination of the greatest obstacle to the development of civilisation that has ever existed.** The peoples of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain may still have in store much suffering and privation, ordeals and disappointment over temporary setbacks, but there can be no doubt that, conscious of their responsibility before history and before humanity, they will strain every nerve in the effort to fulfil with honour the historic mission devolving upon them.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have responded with the greatest enthusiasm to the appeal of the head of the Soviet Government, our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. **Tens of millions have risen like one man to defend their native land, firmly determined to carry on the struggle together with other freedom-loving peoples until fascist barbarity has been razed from the earth.**





